838
793/158 cont./ a bissu as long as he merely conducts himself
644 half as a man and half as a woman during the ritual.

The bissu institution gave a number of kawe kawe the opportunity of acquiring a social standing which they never would have acquired if they had remained in their own kampong.

178 The kawe kawe did not disappear with the disappearance
838 of the bissu institution, however. At present, insofar as they
548 did not remain in their kampongs like Taking, they live as prostitutes in the marketplaces. However, in their kampongs the opportunity for sexual satisfaction is extremely restricted because contact with women is practically out of the question and contact with male relatives or kampong fellows is disapproved. This would easily make the migration to the
[839] pasar places comprehensible. Mutual masturbation seems to be the customary method of satisfying sexual needs.

/159/ The accentuated masculine personality idea leads
838 a number of boys to attach themselves socially to girls and women. The strict sanctions concerning contact with women force these men, once they have been accepted into the group of the women, to turn to their own sex for sexual satisfaction.

Unmarried People

114 In a discussion of the position of unmarried men and
● 589 women in kampong Bontoramba, it must first be indicated
885 who is included in this term. Widowers, widows, and divorced men and women are for the time being left out of consideration. For the census of 1930 the rule was adopted "that adulthood in the case of girls begins with marriageability, and in the case of boys with the ability to work" (1). Just a little further

1. Volkstelling 1930,
Part 5, p. 54.

114 /159 cont./ on one reads that "if sexual maturity of the girls
589 is regarded as the criterion of marriageability and thus also of
885 adulthood" they would be adults at the age of about fourteen or fifteen years (2). In South Celebes the tendency exists to

2. Ibid., p. 55.

regard boys as adults if they have their own kampong pass (soera' kampong). This implies that they are also called for community labor. At that time they are approximately eighteen to nineteen years old. As a result of these criteria, which differ according to sex, the men are regarded as adults at a later age than women.

114 In the 1930 census report a high percentage of unmarried
589 men and women is registered for the province of Goa (28.2 per cent and 28.8 per cent respectively). It is explained that the average age at which marriages are contracted is higher than elsewhere (3). This age, however, is not known.

3. Ibid., p. 66.

So long as the birth registers do not make possible a check of the age at which people are married, an explanation like this is premature.

589 The high percentage mentioned is, in my opinion, rather to be explained by the fact that a large number of men and women never marry.

In order to ascertain this number, I asked two informants /160/ at different points in time, with respect to each unmarried person, one by one, whether according to them they still had chances to marry. The result was that for 15 men and 24 women, it was assumed by both informants that they would never marry. Their opinions were divided on 4 men. These 15 men were all approximately thirty-five to forty years or older. The 24 women were thirty to thirty-five years or older.

589 /160 cont./ The total number of men in kampong Bontoramba at that time amounted to 382, as against 405 women. Therefore, the total number of "unmarried people" amounts to 5 per cent of the total population, and the percentage of "unmarried" women is a little higher than that of the men. This fact requires an explanation. A number of general remarks will precede this.

589 732 Among the 15 men there were four deaf-mutes unsuited for normal work. Among the 24 women there were three deaf-mutes (1) in addition to one blind and one albino woman.

1. The large number of deaf-mutes, seven in all, is too striking to pass without comment. The nose-, throat-, and ear-doctor at Macassar, J.C. Engelen, had the kindness to examine these individuals at my request. He reported that all suffered from a form of perception deafness, a kind of nervous deafness, and that the affliction must have begun at an early age or else must have been congenital. He regarded an infectious disease suffered in childhood (mumps or measles) as a possible cause if the affliction could be supposed to have begun at a youthful age. He

589 /160 cont./ believed that a connection with the system of endogamous marriage need not be excluded, but that data were lacking to pronounce an opinion about this. These deaf-mutes are all approximately between forty-five and fifty-five years of age. Therefore they belong, as it were, to the same generation. They stem from three different pairs of parents (two brothers, a brother and sister, and a brother with two sisters). They also have brothers and sisters who are normal. They all belong to the "Kapala group."

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Eleven men and 19 women seemed to be physically and psychically normal.

589 Lolo bangko (old maid) (2) is the customary but unflattering

2. Compare B. F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 147.

term applied to an older, unmarried woman. These women perform the ordinary feminine tasks in the house. The men with whom one talks about them maintain that these women would find it unpleasant if they had to marry, and that they would cry if their marriage were announced to them. These

589 /160 cont./ same men, therefore, continued to believe in the reaction expected of women when the marriage is announced to them, as the real manifestation of their feelings. In a kelong recited by women, one hears a different tone, however:

539 /161/ Lolobangkomi denangku; djappomi padja bungkenna

My friend has become an old maid; her first sarong is already worn-out (1)

1. This refers to a custom by which the first sarong a young girl wears, after she has learned to do so, is kept for her bride-groom.

mattajang guru; mana palukka tania'.

in waiting for a man; not even a thief was there (2).

2. That is to say, she did not even carry out a marriage by flight.

589 With respect to older unmarried men, it is believed that they could have married but that they did not want to do so. People are satisfied with that; they are not urged to marry. The few older unmarried men who could be observed for some time every day, seemed like quiet, contented individuals who performed all kinds of little tasks in the house, rendered small services to their housemates, and sometimes even looked after the little children. Their standing in the group of relatives [554] is not great. Men who enjoy status in their related group are always married.

589 /161 cont./ In the 1930 census report, the suggestion is
114 made with respect to the "East of the Archipelago," "that the continued unmarried state of a woman in the native society is regarded as more or less undesirable or dishonorable" (3). I

3. Volkstelling 1930,
Part 5, p. 66.

have been unable to find a single indication in South Celebes pointing to the correctness of this last qualification. For the
581 woman concerned it is regarded as "undesirable" that she does
589 not marry. It is believed that only through marriage does one become a "complete person." Attempting to bring about someone's marriage signifies that one means well for this person. But one prefers to see a young woman unmarried rather than to see her marry a man who is not regarded as suitable.
[554] Suitability is judged almost entirely on the basis of his social standing.

By the same token people prefer to see their son unmarried than to see him contract a marriage contrary to parental wishes. Not to marry may be undesirable for an individual, but it is always regarded more highly than to marry an undesirable partner.

114 "Among the Makassarese," the report goes on (4), "who
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4. Ibid., p. 67.

565 have strict difference between the social classes, the number of unmarried women /162/ among the higher classes is great because there the bride price and the "balandja" (the expenses of the wedding feast) are so high." Now this "bride price" among the kinsmen of the Prince of Goa amounts to 28 reals or 56. -- guldens, and that of the small man to 20 reals or 40. -- guldens. The difference of 16. -- guldens does not

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583 /162 cont./ seem worth mention. Above all, it can never
●589 be the reason in this group, which is so much wealthier, for
565 a marriage not to take place.

To explain the fact that the number of unmarried women
[582] in the highest class is larger than that among the people, one could at most point to the existing hypergamy prohibition.

The high costs of the wedding feast are a customary argument to explain the fact that a large number of women remain unmarried. In my opinion this is incorrect (1). If the

1. The argument is also used as an "explanation" for the existence of marriage by flight. It is safer to assume that in times like those after 1929, the number of marriages by flight increased somewhat through a gradual adjustment toward new relationships with regard to money and goods.

marriage partners are related to each other (for instance, cousins to the sixth degree), one cannot say that such a marriage could not come about on the grounds of excessive costs. The expenses for a feast are expressed in amounts, and these amounts typify a certain social standing. One does not like to cut down these amounts, because then one has the feeling that this feast would be "inferior" compared with a
178 previous one.
435 When an increase in the value of money takes place, as
583 it did around 1930, a certain group could no longer afford the
585 same amount as a number of years before. The members of

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435 /162 cont./ such a group did not like to admit this toward
583 the outside world, however. It is true, therefore, that during
585 this time it repeatedly happened that a marriage did not take place, on account of the amounts which in their own opinion should be spent on the wedding feast.

But this state of affairs did not last long. Initially, it was still agreed among kinsmen that the old amount would be maintained outwardly, but that in reality they would be satisfied with less. Outwardly, the social standing of the group of relatives thereby remained on the same level. But gradually the amounts were adjusted to the new conditions, though little or nothing was thereby changed in the intent of the feast or in the entertainment of the guests.

/163/ By the same token, scarcely any difference could be observed between a wedding feast in 1940 and one celebrated in 1949 in the same group, even though in that period the valuation of sawahs and buffaloes increased by about tenfold. While in 1940 one buffalo and one goat were killed for the feast, in 1949 one buffalo and two goats were killed for the occasion. In 1949 one naturally never heard the complaint, either, that a marriage could not come about because of the excessive expenses of the wedding. In its striking frequency, this complaint remained confined to the beginning of the 1930's. The high expenses are nevertheless still named today as an excuse whenever other reasons which one does not like to mention make a certain marriage undesirable (1).

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1. Kampong Bontorambo numbered 22 widows and 13 widowers who had not remarried, that is, fully 4 percent of the total of 787 residents. Only two married men and two married women appeared

[162] /163 cont./
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[587]

to be remarried widowers and widows respectively. It is possible that these latter figures are in reality somewhat larger. For the investigation of this problem was made difficult by the fact that generally one finds it unpleasant to be reminded of an earlier marriage. At present, this result proves no more than that few widows and widowers remarry. The possibility is taken into account that the decease of the marriage partner is a consequence of a bad personal quality on the part of the survivor, without the latter having to be conscious of it. One is afraid that this quality will stay with him, and for that reason one regards a marriage to a widow or to a widower as a less desirable marriage. In the rare cases that such a marriage was contracted, a special ritual was performed. By this it is hoped that the bad qualities will disappear, but the chance of this happening is not considered very good.

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The census report of 1930 (Part 5, p. 58) gives as the reason for the infrequent remarriage of widowers the high bride price and wedding expenses. This argument is even less valid since the widower can, if he wants to, be satisfied with a "small feast" (nikka' tja'di).

589 /163 cont./ Today, just as fifteen to twenty years ago, a comparatively large number of men and women remain unmarried. The above-mentioned reasons may be of influence upon the number of those who remain unmarried during a certain period of time and in a certain group. An explanation of the same phenomenon during this period in the lower classes must be attempted separately.

581 Marriage seemed to be one of the most important events in the related group. The older people who bring about the marriages unconsciously apply a criterion of selection in the choice of those they are bringing together in marriage. The young man of whom they expect that he will contribute to the standing of their group has preference. This must be someone, therefore, who is always prepared to outdo others /164/ and to guard against the impairment of his own standing. Outdoing 156 other men and the conquest of women are two matters which in 584 the Makassarese conception go together in a man. The young men who possess these qualities to a strong degree frequently take the initiative toward marriage themselves, however limited the opportunities for this may be. Furthermore, there is a large number of men who do not get to take the initiative and begin to refuse when their marriage is announced to them, but who in the end let themselves be persuaded. There are those who externally let themselves be persuaded but who continue to refuse sexual union and in so doing cause the marriage to fail (1).

1. See below, pp. 273 ff.

156 Finally, there are a number of men who refuse to marry and upon whom the parents exert little further pressure. These 589 are the ones of whom it is believed that they would contribute little to the standing of the related group. Their fear of being inadequate in sexual relations with their wife, just as they are

156/164 cont./ inadequate in their social relations with other
●589 men, could be the reason for their refusal to marry. The fact that the older people do not consider these individuals capable of contributing to the standing of the group could be the reason why they are satisfied with their refusal.

[584] No initiative toward marriage of any kind may ever proceed from a woman. The docile, withdrawn girls are set up as an example. I believe, but would like to see this confirmed by further investigation, that among the unmarried women these docile types are still the most frequent. The more aggressive personalities who possess to a lesser degree the qualities most valued in this society seem to marry sooner. An old woman explained why a particular girl had been allowed to marry by reasoning that otherwise one might have difficulties with her later. By this, the old woman most probably was thinking of the possibility of siri' problems arising. The fact that these characters marry, while docile individuals frequently remain unmarried, points to the fact that the older people in their selections follow the path of least resistance. The types from whom the most difficulties are to be expected have a better chance of marrying.

[581] The men with the personal qualities that are most /165/ appreciated and the women with the personal qualities that are least appreciated have the best chances of marrying.

565 It is believed that the karaeng always possess a high de-
156 gree of the personal qualities appreciated in a man. Their
581 opportunities to marry are greater than those of an ordinary man; a marriage to a lower woman is a frequent phenomenon. Figures dealing with the unmarried in this group are not available, however.

The Koro Phenomenon

826 Koro is the Makassarese name for the disease symptom in
158 which a man believes that his penis is shrinking and will turn

582 /173 cont./ those whom they permit to marry. Naturally, they cannot draw a sharp line of distinction between those whom they do permit to marry, and those they do not.

[589] Several factors are influential in determining the number of individuals who, in a certain group, finally remain unmarried. In each group there are a number of individuals who declare that they do not wish to marry, and their motives in doing so are not always clear, nor do the older people always take this wish into consideration.

593 On account of this, it is understandable that a marriage contract in itself does not yet signify that the newlyweds will now also be able to find their way toward a normal married life.

[833] In a number of cases one of the marriage partners "does not want" the other. It is said of them that they are "not good" together. This means that one of them refuses sexual union.

585 The central point of the wedding feast toward which all aspirations and the interests of all are directed is the successful union of man and wife. The purpose is that a marriage should [581] be lasting and fruitful, that is to say, that it should last until the death of one of the partners, and that it should be blessed with many children and goods.

[586] In the discussion of a number of "divorces," it will become apparent that if the partners have had sexual intercourse 581 only once, the marriage may in effect be called lasting. For 833 a number of individuals, however, it seems difficult to enter into sexual contact with their partner. I would like to discover the cause of this difficulty in the personality structure.

[155] With respect to men, we could point to the anxiety of being inadequate toward their partner. The rivalry with those [156] of his own sex, to which we have already pointed above, and the performance of great sexual feats are both expressions of personal qualities highly prized in a man and always occurring in combination.